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THE ONTARIO MÉTIS: CHARACTERISTICS AND IDENTITY

Evelyn Peters, Mark Rosenberg and Greg Halseth

INSTITUTE of URBAN STUDIES
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INTRODUCTION

Questions about the nature of Métis identity have received considerable scrutiny in recent years (Foster, 1985; Hatt, 1971; Peterson and Brown, 1985). Events at Red River and Batoche have come to public attention in new ways, and this Prairie segment of Métis history has become increasingly well known. At the same time, it is evident that there are considerable populations in all parts of Canada which consider themselves Métis, many of which do not have Red River ancestry (Table 1.0).

This report explores the issue of Métis identity by analyzing the opinions and attitudes of an Ontario population which identifies itself as Métis, but appears to have few historic links with the Métis at Red River. The data derive from a 1985 questionnaire survey by the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA). The survey attempted to identify the concerns, attitudes and opinions of OMNSIA members on issues of relevance to Métis and Non-Status Indians in Ontario (see Appendix A). While there are a number of problems with the survey, it nevertheless represents a unique and valuable resource for research on Métis identity.

Chapter One reviews some of the historical, political and theoretical issues surrounding Métis identity. It provides the context for the analysis which follows. Chapter Two describes the OMNSIA survey and compares the characteristics of the population surveyed to the population in the 1981 Census. Chapter Three focuses on the history of the Ontario Métis and their contemporary social and economic characteristics. Chapter Four discusses Métis responses to the survey questions, and explores the extent to which responses are homogeneous across socio-economic characteristics. Finally, in Chapter 5, Métis and Non-Status Indian responses are compared, in an attempt to identify the degree to which Métis attitudes vary or correspond to Non-Status Indian attitudes. By way of conclusion, the final chapter summarizes the results of the analysis.

Before proceeding, a note on the terms used in this paper is in order. In North America, a wide variety of titles have been used to refer to persons of mixed European and Indian ancestry who, for whatever reasons, are not regarded as either Indian or white. Some of these terms have gone out of common usage, or are presently not widespread. These terms include: "half-breeds," "half-castes," "country-born," "bois-brulé," "breeds," "mixed- bloods," "métis," or "michif." There is a continuing debate about the desirability or accuracy of other terms in their application to different populations (Peterson and Brown, 1985, p. 5).

TABLE 1.0
MÉTIS BY PROVINCE, 1981

Area	Number	As a Percentage of Population	As a Percentage of Natives
Canada	**98,260**	**.41**	**20.0**
Newfoundland	385	.07	8.7
Prince Edward Island	50	.04	8.0
Nova Scotia	605	.07	7.8
New Brunswick	415	.06	7.5
Quebec	7,310	.11	14.0
Ontario	12,680	.15	11.5
Manitoba	20,485	2.02	30.9
Saskatchewan	17,455	1.82	29.5
Alberta	27,135	1.23	37.7
British Columbia	8,955	.33	10.8
Yukon	190	.82	4.7
Northwest Territories	2,595	5.70	9.8

Source: *Statistics Canada Daily*, February 1, 1983, p. 7.

In Canadian society today, "Métis" has a widespread usage. This term is not without its own problems. Peterson and Brown (1985, p. 6) indicate that the Métis National Council has argued that "métis", with a small "m" refers to mixed Indian and European ancestry, while "Métis" is a socio-cultural and political term referring to a distinct indigenous people who evolved historically in a certain region of Canada. The Native Council of Canada, however, has rejected this definition.

There do not appear, therefore, to be any problem-free terms to use in a discussion of this population. In this report, the choice has been to use the term "Métis." This choice is based on several considerations. First, the term is in widespread usage in public documents, census questionnaires and research materials. Second, it appears to have a well-accepted general meaning which includes: Indian-European ancestry; self-identification with a particular heritage; and acceptance as a member of a Métis community. Besides its common-sense meaning, the broader usage of the term "Métis" also reflects the reality that many of the social and economic conditions which contributed to the establishment of a "Métis Nation" at Red River and Batoche in the 1800s were found among other peoples in other geographic areas, and that the processes leading to the definition of a Métis identity did not cease after 1885, but continue to the present, often independently of people who claim Red River ancestry.

CHAPTER 1
BASES OF A MÉTIS IDENTITY

This chapter reviews work on Métis identity, providing a context for the analysis which follows. The first section critically examines the extent to which a Métis identity can be said to rest in Red River origins. The second section introduces the idea of Métis identity as a dynamic phenomenon, summarizing some of the secondary literature about conditions underlying the emergence and renaissance of the Métis. In conclusion, the contribution of the present study is described.

MÉTIS ORIGINS AT RED RIVER?

One method of approaching the question of ethnic identity is to focus on various cultural characteristics which lead to an individual's identification with an ethnic group.[1] The *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Vol. 5, p. 167) provides a good example of this type of approach:

> an ethnic group is a distinct category of the population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own. The members of such a group are, or feel themselves, or are thought to be, bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture.

While definitions in this category vary in their emphasis on the elements defining an ethnic group, a common theme is the shared characteristics which are seen to be the basis of ethnicity (Berry, 1958; Gordon, 1964; Isajiw, 1980; Park and Miller, 1921; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Warner and Srole, 1945; Wirth, 1928). The most common of these characteristics is shared nationality or origin, culture, race, and language or religion, but other elements include dress, lifestyle, institutions or occupations.

Researchers identifying Métis origins with the events at Red River and Batoche in the late 1800s follow the line of argument which identifies ethnicity and ethnic origins with a particular shared history and culture. The events at Red River and Batoche, and the evidence they provide of a people with its own sense of identity, political organization and capacity for self-government, have been employed in an argument that Red River ancestry should be used to determine who does and who does not have legal Métis status. This argument gave rise to a major split in Aboriginal organizations in March 1983, when the Métis National Council established itself as a separate group from the Native Council of Canada. The Métis National Council's definition of "Métis" reads as follows:

- an Aboriginal people distinct from Indian and Inuit;
- descendants of the historic Métis who evolved in what is now Western Canada as a people with a common political will;

- descendants of those Aboriginal people who have been absorbed by the historic Métis (Métis National Council, 1984).

However, an approach identifying Métis people on the basis of Red River ancestry quickly becomes problematic. Based on his review of Métis history in Ontario, Driben (1987, p. 9) suggests that: "it is likely that Métis people first emerged as distinct cultural groups in Ontario rather than in the west." At the Newberry Library 1981 *Conference on the Métis*, papers described communities of mixed descent around the U.S. Great Lakes area (Peterson, 1985) and around Hudson's Bay Company forts in the Ontario James Bay area (Judd, 1983; Long, 1985), as well as the indigenous Alberta Métis settlement at Grande Cache (Nicks and Morgan, 1985) and the Métis population of Montana (Dusenberry, 1985). None of these communities appeared to be descendants of Red River Métis populations, and few of the members of these settlements used the term "Métis" to describe themselves. Nevertheless, many were seen by other members of the population as a cultural group separate from Indians and Europeans (Gorham, 1988), and there appear to have been commonalties between them in their position in the fur trade economy, their religion and their language or dialect (Crawford, 1983, 1985; Peterson and Brown, 1985).

Researchers have also questioned the degree of cultural homogeneity of the mixed blood population at Red River. St.-Onge (1985), studying the Métis community at Pointe à Grouette near Winnipeg, found differences in lifestyle, class position and responses to the events in the 1870s (1985, p. 164). She concluded that only the hunting segment of the Métis population was characterized by "strong group feelings, internal cohesion, political awareness, sense of independence, characteristic dress etc.," and that the farmers, who were becoming a majority by the 1860s and 1870s, had different political views and values (see also Keinitz, 1988, p. 13).

The 1981 Census shows that, at present, there exist in all parts of Canada people who identify themselves as Métis, even though many are not descendants of the Red River Métis (Table 1.0). Since 1965, Métis associations and federations have been founded in every Canadian province, and in the states of Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington (Peterson and Brown, 1985, p. 7). Many of the people in these organizations appear to have no connections to the events at Red River and Batoche.

Clearly, then, particular histories and cultural characteristics do not map onto Métis identity in any simple way, and researchers are adopting much broader definitions in their investigation of Métis origins (e.g., Thomas, 1985, pp. 248-250). A contemporary account of the origins of the Métis must explain the widespread use people in all parts of Canada make of the term to describe their ethnic identity, and it must be able to take account of the complexity of historical processes creating a Métis identity.

THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF MÉTIS IDENTITY

Barth's (1969, p. 14) identification of group formation as a dynamic process shifts the focus away from the cultural characteristics which a group of people supposedly share. Instead, the emphasis is on both the events and situations which assign an ethnic identity to a population or which encourage a group to adopt a particular identity, as well as on ways in which these external forces are mediated by peoples' attempts to negotiate and define their own identity. This approach views ethnicity as a dynamic and creative phenomenon, rather than as a static, transplanted cultural heritage (Halpern, 1958; Killian, 1970; Stymeist, 1975).

While racial and ethnic categories have frequently been taken for granted in the social sciences, it is important to recognize that these categories are socially constructed (Anderson, 1987, 1988). Thus, the various conditions or prerequisites underlying the emergence of a group consciousness are important (Cohen, 1974; Fischer, 1976; Smith, 1984; Weber, 1968; Wellman, 1979; Yancey, 1976). This is not to say that ethnicity and ethnic identity are determined by external events; however, they are not independent of them, either.

The way in which the larger society defines what it means to be Métis must affect an individual's self-definitions. St.-Onge (1990) has described the racial ideology underlying the perception of the Métis in a Manitoba Interlake community between 1850 and 1950, and its implications for the way people were identified and identified themselves. She wrote that:

> When "half-breeds" and Métis were defined by society at large, some allusion to Indian ancestry was made and physical characteristics were noted, but in fact these were given social significance only because of the lifestyle led by the individuals. A "half-breed" or Métis was poor, unschooled, lived in a shack, engaged in a variety of seasonal employments, was not submissive to authority and was very much a part of the reserve labour force of Manitoba (1990, p. 84).

St.-Onge (1990, p. 84), and an earlier work by Lagasse (1958) on the Manitoba Métis, noted that the majority of people of mixed descent who were integrated into "white" society, did not identify themselves as Métis.

Federal and provincial government policies have reinforced the view of the Métis as primarily a disadvantaged population.[2] The Federal government refuses to define the Aboriginal rights of the Métis, and denies that it has jurisdiction over them (Canadian Bar Association, 1988, p. 62-3). Federal and provincial government initiatives for the Métis have primarily taken the form of programs directed toward them as a particularly disadvantaged population (Weaver,1985).

The decades since the 1960s, however, have seen a Métis renewal or renaissance, and an active attempt to reformulate what it means to be Métis. A number of events appear to have contributed to

these changes. Dobbin (1981, pp. 201-203) points out that the rapid urbanization of the Prairies included the Indians and Métis, who thus became more visible to the general population. Concern over the plight of urban Natives led to a number of conferences where social workers, planners and policymakers met to discuss strategies and solutions (Currie, 1969; Hirabayashi, 1962; Shackleton, 1969; Vincent, 1971). The "rediscovery" of the Indian during the 1960s also resulted in the "rediscovery" of the Métis.

Several researchers have also pointed to the spillover effects of the U.S. civil rights and Black Power movements on minority movements in Canada. A "Red Power" movement which included many Métis caught media attention in Canada in the 1960s (Adams, 1975; Purich, 1988, p. 160-163; Redbird, 1980, pp. 32-4). At the same time, funding became available to Métis along with other Native organizations under the Liberal government's multiculturalism initiatives (Whiteside, 1980). Sawchuk's (1978) study of the Manitoba Métis Federation shows that government funding contributed to the creation of these organizations, which in turn provided an important reference point for Métis populations, and made a strong contribution to the reformulation of a Métis identity.

The new focus of social history on the lives of ordinary people, and the new currents in ethno-historical analysis which place these people in the mainstream, have contributed to research on the lives of Métis people in many locations (Lussier, 1978; Lussier and Sealey, 1978; Peterson, 1985; Sealey and Lussier, 1975). Feminist perspectives on women's history have also reinforced attention paid to Métis origins by exploring the relationships between Indian women and the fur trade, and by attempting to present Métis women's viewpoints (Brown, 1980; 1983; Poelzer and Poelzer, 1986; van Kirk, 1980).

The process of repatriating the Canadian constitution brought the Métis into public view in an unprecedented way. Section 37 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982 (as amended) required a series of conferences to be held by 1987, to deal with "constitutional matters that directly affect the aboriginal peoples of Canada." First Minister's Conferences on Aboriginal constitutional Matters were held in 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1987, and leaders of the national Aboriginal organizations were at the table with provincial premiers and the Prime Minister. Two seats were assigned to organizations representing the Métis: the Native Council of Canada and the Métis National Council. The media coverage of these conferences brought Aboriginal issues, including Métis issues, to the attention of Canadians to an extent previously unequalled.

What it means to be Métis has also changed. The reinterpretation of events at Red River and at Batoche has been an important element of a reformulation of Métis identity, changing Riel from "traitor" to "martyr," and the significance of the events from "rebellion" to the attempts of an Aboriginal people to protect title to their land (Barron and Waldram, 1986; Berger, 1981; Mailhot and Sprague, 1985). Research into scrip speculation and irregularities (Hatt, 1986; Mueller, 1981a; 1981b; Sprague, 1980;

Sprague and Frye, 1983) demonstrate a rejection of the popular explanation that the Métis lost their lands because of their horror of sedentary living, and the lack of value they placed on landed property (see also St.-Onge, 1985).

In addition, Métis researchers have begun to criticize the image of the Métis presented in Canadian literature (Laroque, 1983), and Métis writers have begun to write about the experience of being Métis from their own points of view (Adams, 1975; Campbell, 1973; Culleton, 1983; Redbird, 1980). Various other elements are being negotiated as cultural markers, including language (Crawford, 1983; 1985; Douaud, 1985), art (Brasser, 1978; 1985; Duncan, 1981; Nicks, 1985; Thompson, 1983), and house styles (Judd, 1983; Peterson and Brown, 1985, p. xxi).

There is evidence in the literature of ways in which individuals are constructing a Métis identity. Duke Redbird (1980, p. 50), an Ontario Métis, describes the importance of Red River history:

> There is an extant, strong, identity base that the Métis can build upon--the legacy of Louis Riel. However, the Western Métis image and cultural characteristics that now serve as a bridge to connect the halfbreed on a national scale, must not rely solely on the historic context. It must now develop an awareness of values in a modern context, and of the Métis' contribution in present day Canadian life.

Nicks (1985, p. 103), documented the process by which a young craftsperson changed her identity from "Cree" to "Métis," and suggested that this case described a more general trend.

Recently, the term "Métis" has been generalized to refer to all Canadians of mixed Indian and European ancestry. In part, this has occurred because of the predominance of studies on Red River Métis. In part, is has been a conscious adoption by contemporary people of admixed ancestry in the interests of establishing and validating a separate social and political identity. The sub-title of Peterson and Brown's (1985) edited volume, *Being and Becoming Métis in North America* similarly suggests this phenomenon of individuals acknowledging their heritage, and identifying it as Métis.

CONCLUSION

The approach to ethnicity which identifies the dynamic component of both processes of self-identification and the elements chosen to represent that identity, seems best to fit our concept of Métis ethnicity. It accommodates the renewal or renaissance of Métis ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s, and helps to explain the self-definition as Métis of people not connected with the events at Red River and Batoche in the late 1800s. This approach emphasizes the importance of Red River history and popular notions of Métis culture--not as a way of tracing Métis ancestry or heritage, but as elements employed in contemporary negotiations to give Métis ethnicity a referent and content.

Contemporary changes in what it means to be Métis raise important issues about who the people are who identify themselves as members of this group in Canada today. We have very little sense of what their characteristics are in terms of occupation, age, gender, education, and so on. The data available for this study allow a preliminary exploration of these issues for a particular group.

Ethnicity as an dynamic phenomenon also means that the content of a Métis ethnicity cannot be predicted from knowledge of an individual's ancestry. Jordan (1986, p. 272), writing about Aboriginal peoples in Australia, characterizes the search for an Aboriginal identity as:

> seeking to know, to understand, what can be the components of an aboriginal identity, credible to individuals, which they can select out of the many aboriginal identities offered them and which they can build upon in order to attain a personal identity.

There is little research available about the content of contemporary Métis identities. This analysis delineates some of the elements constituting a Métis identity by analyzing Ontario Métis attitudes and opinions about a range of issues.

CHAPTER 2
THE OMNSIA SURVEY

The main research instrument used to discuss Métis identity is a survey carried out in 1985 by the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA). In this chapter, we describe the purpose and the administration of the survey, and evaluate how similar the respondents to the OMNSIA questionnaire are to the information contained in the 1981 Census.

THE SURVEY

Federal legislation (Bill C-31) deleting many of the enfranchisement mechanisms of *The Indian Act*, and the First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal constitutional matters, form an important context for the 1985 OMNSIA survey. The Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association was interested in estimating the potential effect of Bill C-31 on the size and nature of its constituency (OMNSIA, 1987). The Association, as part of the Native Council of Canada, was also contributing to position papers for tabling at the First Minister's Conferences. Challenged by the Métis National Council, which maintained that Aboriginal rights accrued only to Métis descendants of Red River ancestry, the Native Council of Canada was concerned to emphasize the existence and voice of a Métis population outside the traditional Red River region.

To these ends, OMNSIA decided to carry out a survey of Métis and Non-Status Indians in Ontario. The questionnaire (Appendix A) designed for the survey had three main foci. The first page and some of the second page provided information about respondents. The second section focused on loss of Indian status and intentions about regaining it. The third section dealt with various aspects of Aboriginal self-government. Many of the questions in the third section reflect proposals tabled by the Native Council of Canada during the First Ministers' Conferences (e.g., Native Council of Canada, 1983a; 1983b). Clearly, the questionnaire was not designed to examine the nature of "Métisness" in any systematic fashion. However, a number of questions lend themselves to an exploration of the issue.

When it came time to analyze the data, OMNSIA ran into problems. Data entry was contracted out, but problems with the results were serious enough to make the data unusable. At this point, the Bill C-31 co-ordinator contacted a number of universities for assistance, indicating that in return, permission would be given to use the data in academic analysis (Misek, 1986). Funds were obtained from the Chancellor Richardson Memorial Fund at Queen's, and individuals in Geography and at the Institute for Intergovernmental Relations supervised data re-entry in a form which OMNSIA could access. One copy

TABLE 2.1
RESPONDENT SELF-IDENTIFICATION

Self-Identification	Frequency	Percentage
Métis	722	36.0
Non-Status Indian	819	40.9
Status Indian	267	13.3
Inuit	3	0
Other	20	1.0
Canadian Born	125	6.2
Naturalized Citizen	11	0.5
Immigrant	3	0.1
No Response	34	1.7
Total	2,004	100

of the data was deposited at Queen's University for research and analysis by members of the University community. The only condition of this use was that OMNSIA be acknowledged in any resulting publications.

IDENTIFYING THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN RESPONDENTS

Very little information is available about how the questionnaire was administered, and the personnel involved are no longer working with the organization. OMNSIA distributed the questionnaire by a variety of methods. Packages of questionnaires were sent to various local offices (Figure 1.0), with instructions to staff to circulate them among clients (Misek, 1987). A second method used was to distribute questionnaires at general information meetings about the implications of Bill C-31. Finally, some questionnaires were mailed to OMNSIA members directly. The questionnaire was not offered in French or in any Aboriginal languages, and it is not clear whether assistance was available for individuals who had difficulty reading or understanding the questions.

The way the questionnaire was administered means that it was answered by people from a wide variety of sources. This is reflected in responses to the question on citizenship and ethnicity, which asked respondents to identify with one of the eight options listed in Table 2.1. While most of the respondents were Métis and Non-Status Indians, the group which makes up most of OMNSIA's membership, a substantial number also checked the options: "Status Indian" and "Canadian born." A large number of those who checked "Status Indian" may have been Non-Status Indians in the process of being reinstated. Many of the "Canadian born" may have been Aboriginal people. There was no additional information in the questionnaire which allowed us to explore these questions, however, and, as a result, the rest of this analysis focuses on respondents who identified themselves as Métis or Non-Status Indians.

Most of the Métis respondents (86%) were born in Ontario. Research indicating that Red River Métis migrations moved South and West rather than into Ontario (McNab, 1985; Sprague, 1983), suggests that the parents of respondents would not be of Red River ancestry either. Métis in the OMNSIA survey then, appear to represent a group distinct from the Métis who trace their heritage and identity to their experiences at Red River.

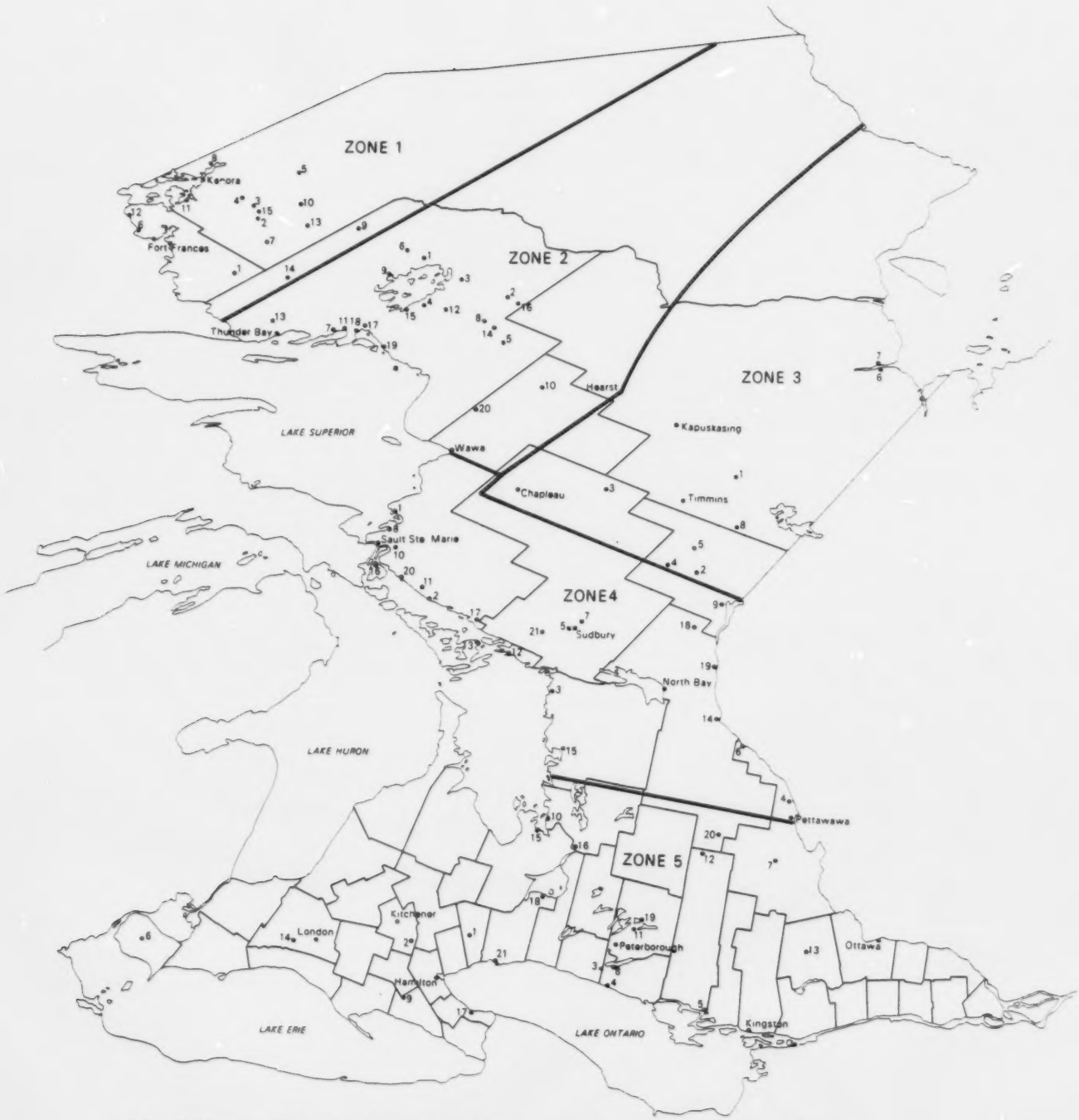


FIGURE 1: OMNSIA ZONES AND LOCALS, 1985

TABLE 2.2: OMNSIA ZONES AND LOCALS, 1985

Zone I

1. Atikokan
2. Dinorwic
3. Dryden
4. Eagle River
5. Ear Falls
6. Emo
7. Ignace
8. Minaki
9. Savant Lake
10. Sioux Lookout
11. Sioux Narrows
12. Sleeman
13. Umferville
14. Upsala
15. Wabigoon

Zone II

1. Armstrong
2. Aroland
3. Auden
4. Beardmore
5. Caramat
6. Gollins
7. Dorion
8. Geraldton
9. Gull Bay
10. Hornpayne
11. Hurkett
12. Jelico
13. Kakabeka Falls
14. Little Loncac
15. MacDiarmid
16. Nakina
17. Nipigon
18. Red Rock
19. Rossport
20. White River

Zone III

1. Cochrane
2. Elk River
3. Foleyet
4. Gogama
5. Matchewan
6. Moose Factory
7. Moosonee
8. Ramore

Zone IV

1. Batchawana Bay
2. Blind River
3. Britt
4. Chalk River
5. Copper Cliff
6. Deux Rivieres
7. Garson
8. Goulais
9. Haileybury
10. Hayden
11. Iron Bridge
12. Killarny
13. Little Current
14. Marrawa
15. Nobel
16. Richard's Landing
17. Spanish
18. Temagami
19. Temiscaming
20. Thessalon
21. Whitefish Falls

Zone V

1. Bramalea
2. Cambridge
3. Campbellcroft
4. Cobourg
5. Desoronto
6. Essex
7. Golden Lake
8. Gores Landing
9. Hagersville
10. Honey Harbour
11. Lakefield
12. Lake St. Peter
13. Lanark
14. Muncey
15. Port McNicoll
16. Seventh Bridge
17. St. Catherines
18. Sutton
19. Upper Buckhorn Lake
20. Whitney
21. Willowdale

COMPARING THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS OF THE SURVEY WITH MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS IN THE 1981 CENSUS

Since the authors of this study had no control over the methods used to distribute the questionnaire, an immediate question to be answered is "how representative are the respondents in the survey of Métis and Non-Status Indians in Ontario?" To answer this question, we compare the geographic distribution and demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the survey respondents with the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian population in the 1981 Census. The 1986 Census would have been preferable. However, data were not available for the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian populations.

Use of Census data raises a methodological problem.[3] For most of the 1981 Census tables, Métis and Non-Status Indians are combined into one category. This necessitated combining the Métis and Non-Status Indians respondents in the survey into one category to determine how representative the respondents are of the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian population.

The first comparison to be made is based on the geographical distribution of Survey and Census respondents. A crude distinction can be drawn between those living in the North and the South, where the North is defined as OMNSIA Zones 1, 2, 3, and 4, and the South is defined as OMNSIA Zone 5 (Figure 1).

In Table 2.3, the number and percentage of respondents in the North and South are shown. Most Survey respondents are located in the North (84.1%) whereas the majority of Census respondents are located in the South (69.3%). The marked differences in Table 2.3 are most likely due to OMNSIA's distribution of the questionnaires. The authors were told that several centres in the South with relatively large Métis and Non- Status Indian populations were either not contacted at all or under-sampled to a considerable extent (Misek, 1987).

Table 2.4 shows that there are only minimal differences in the percentage of males and females in the sample data compared with the 1981 Census. In Table 2.5, Survey and Census respondents are compared by age distribution. Since only a few respondents indicated that they were under 20 years of age, the comparison is made on the 20 to 34, 35 to 64 and 65 and over age cohorts. Survey respondents appear to be under-represented in the 20 to 34 age cohort and over-represented in the 35 to 64 age cohort compared with Census respondents. Other researchers found that Native migrants to cities tended to be in the younger age cohorts (Clatworthy, 1980, 1983). It may be that differences between Survey and Census populations therefore reflect OMNSIA's under-sampling of urban centres in Southern Ontario. Differences in the 65 and over age cohort are minimal.

In Table 2.6, the level of education completed by Survey respondents aged 15 and over is compared with the level of education of Census respondents. Differences in definitions and groupings used in the survey questionnaire and the Census mean that not all categories listed in Table 2.6 are comparable, and therefore some are marked NA (not applicable).

The percentage of Survey respondents with a level of education below grade nine is 9.4 percent compared with 4.6 percent of Census respondents. Although not strictly comparable, if those with grade nine to thirteen, those with a high-school certificate and those with other diplomas are combined for Census respondents, then 70.8 percent fall into this grouping, compared with 60.4 percent of Survey respondents. Combining the various post-secondary education categories, 7.0 percent of Survey respondents compared with 10.0 percent of Census respondents claim some post- secondary education. It appears, then, that Survey respondents are slightly over-represented among those with a primary or elementary school level education, and under-represented among those with a secondary or post-secondary level education. This is consistent with the over-representation of older respondents and individuals from Northern locations in the OMNSIA survey.

Table 2.7 compares Survey and Census respondents aged 15 years and over by major occupational groups. Survey respondents are distributed throughout the occupational categories in a pattern largely similar to the pattern for Census respondents, with differences consistent with the survey over-sampling of Northern areas. Survey respondents are slightly more likely than Census respondents to list primary and transportation occupational categories. Census respondents are more likely to be in clerical and machining occupations.

Table 2.8 shows labour force activity of individuals aged fifteen or older among Census and Survey respondents. Unemployment and participation rates were not available from the OMNSIA questionnaires. In addition, there may have been some differences in the way "employed" was understood in the Census and in the Survey. The OMNSIA survey simply asked respondents to check whether they were presently employed or unemployed. The Census, in contrast, included as employed, people who were temporarily absent from their jobs for a variety of reasons--illness, vacation, labour dispute or other causes. As a result, the OMNSIA Survey may slightly underestimate employment rates compared with the Census. Nevertheless, it appears that employment is higher among Census than Survey respondents.

TABLE 2.3
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE METIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Region	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
North	1,270	84.1	11,260	30.7
South	240	15.9	25,385	69.3
Total	1,510	100.0	36,645	100.0

TABLE 2.4
GENDER OF THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Gender	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Male	728	47.3	18,991	48.9
Female	811	52.7	19,774	51.1
Total	1,539*	100.0	38,765	100.0

*The differences in the total Survey counts in Tables 2.4 and 2.5 are mainly due to non-responses, *not* the exclusion of the under-20 age cohort.

TABLE 2.5 AGE OF THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS				
Age Cohort	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
20-30	653	46.9	11,805	57.3
35-64	663	47.6	8,055	39.1
65+	76	5.5	760	3.7
Total	1,392*	100.0	20,620	100.0
*The differences in the total Survey counts in Tables 2.4 and 2.5 are mainly due to non-responses, *not* the exclusion of the under-20 age cohort.				

TABLE 2.6 EDUCATION LEVEL OF THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS				
Level of Education	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
None/Kindergarten*	60	4.1	570	2.3
Grade 1-4	79	5.4	585	2.3
Grade 5-8	343	23.5	3,700	14.7
Grade 9-13	874	59.9	9,515	37.7
High School Certificate/Diploma	NA	NA	2,645	10.5
Other Diploma	NA	NA	5,705	22.6
Some College	25	1.7	NA	NA
Completed College	22	1.6	NA	NA
Some University	20	1.4	1,325	5.2
University Certificate/ Degree	32	2.2	1,180	4.8
Other Post Secondary	6	0.4	NA	NA
Total	1,461	100.0	25,225	100.0
*For the Survey this category is "None."				

TABLE 2.7
MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS
OF THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Occupation Description	Group	Survey		Census	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Managerial	11-33	163	18.7	2,780	16.8
Clerical	41	92	10.6	2,875	17.4
Sales	51	17	2.0	1,095	6.6
Service	61	141	16.2	2,650	16.0
Primary	71-77	95	10.9	785	4.7
Processing	81-82	18	2.1	910	5.5
Machining	83-85	52	6.0	2,300	13.9
Construc-tion	87	56	6.4	1,090	6.6
Transport-ation	91-95	91	10.4	895	5.4
Other*		146	16.8	1,180	7.1
Total		871	100.0	16,650	100.0

*"Other" includes those who identified themselves as self-employed, but did not give an occupation, as well as those who gave an occupation which could not be classified elsewhere.

TABLE 2.8
LABOUR FORCE ACTIVITY, POPULATION 15+
OF THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Labour Force Activity	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Employed	634	46.0	14,970	59.3
Not Employed/Not in Labour Force	744	54.0	10,255	40.7
Total	1,378	100.0	25,225	100.0

SUMMARY

In summary, the Métis and Non-Status Indians responding to the survey are similar to the Métis and Non-Status Indians of the 1981 Census in their gender distribution and occupation patterns. They are slightly over-represented in the middle age cohort, in lower levels of education, and in the population which is neither employed nor in the labour force. They are highly over-represented in the Northern region of the province. Given the methods used to distribute the questionnaires, it is remarkable that, with the exception of geographic distribution, overall differences are so slight. We argue, then, that, while interpretations must take into account the differences which exist between Census and Survey populations, the overall similarities between these populations mean that the Survey responses are generally representative of the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian populations.

CHAPTER 3
ONTARIO MÉTIS HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter begins with a review of the available published materials on the history of people of mixed European and Indian ancestry in Ontario. The second section reviews the geographic, social and economic characteristics of Métis respondents to the OMNSIA survey.

THE HISTORIC RECORD

The general history of people of Indian and European ancestry in Ontario is not well known. Some families of mixed ancestry lived like Europeans and played prominent roles in their communities (see Leighton's summary, n.d., p. 14). However there is also evidence that groups of individuals and families in various locations were recognized as separate from both Indians and Europeans. Driben (1987, p. 9) writes:

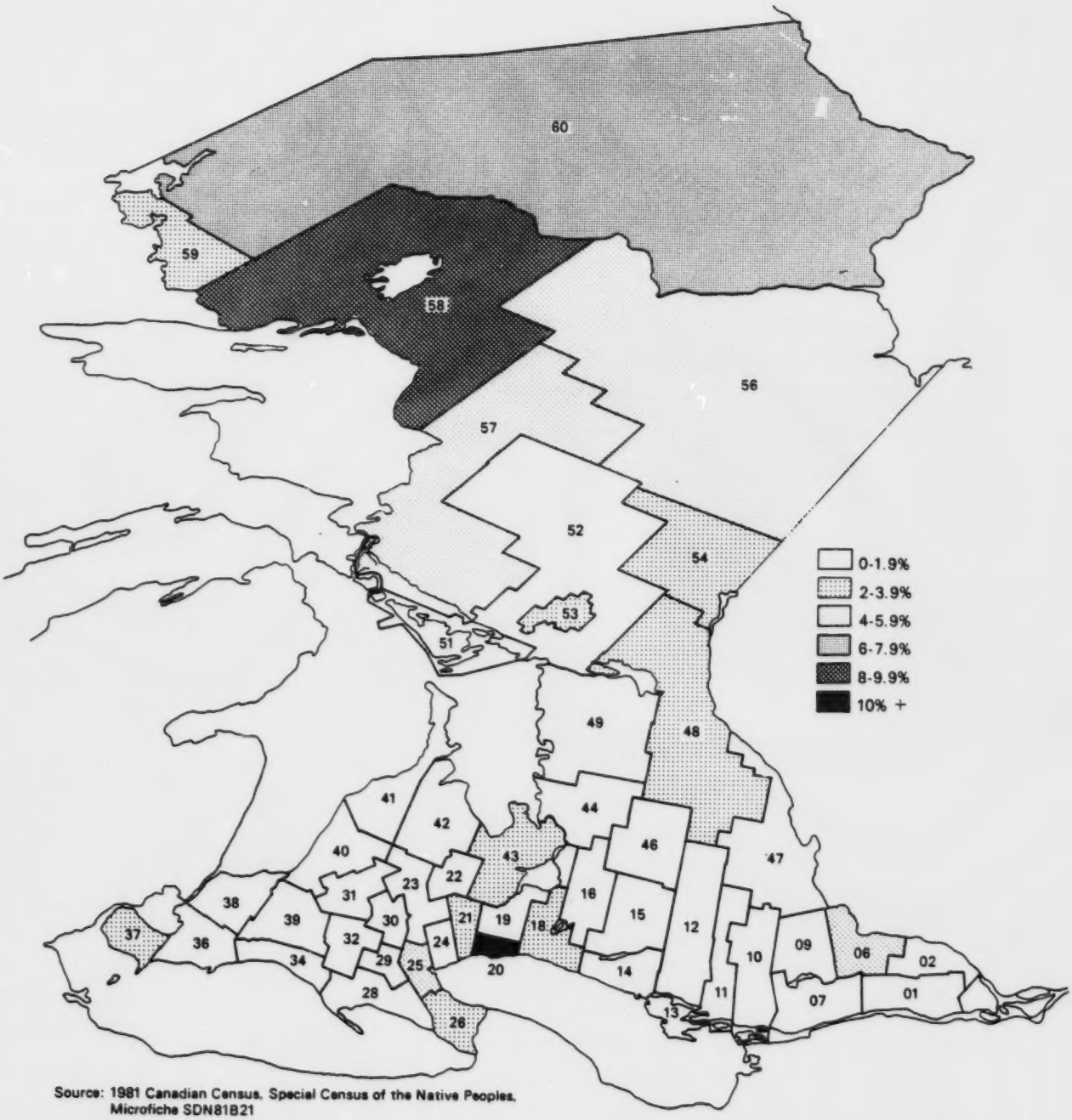
> More often than not, the Métis are . . . regarded as a population that emerged in Western Canada, in the Red River country, and then moved across the Prairies in association with the westward expansion of the fur trade . . . Yet it is likely that Métis people first emerged as distinct cultural groups in Ontario rather than in the West, most likely in what is now the Northern part of the province.

The Ontario "halfbreeds" appear to have played a distinct role in negotiating treaties with the Indians. Morris's 1880 report documents their part in a number of Ontario treaty negotiations, concluding that:

> Their influence with the Indian population is extensive . . . I have always had the confidence, support and active co-operation of the Half-breeds of all origins, in my negotiations with the Indian tribes, and I owe them this full acknowledgment thereof (1971, pp. 293-4).

McNab (1985, p. 59) indicates that, prior to 1850, there were distinct local groups of Indian/European descent at or near centres of the fur trade. Although exact numbers are difficult to determine, he estimates that there were at least several hundred and perhaps a thousand members of the mixed blood population at mid-nineteenth century (1985, p. 59).

There are records of "halfbreed" communities at a number of specific locations. McNab (1985, p. 60) describes an early petition to the Governor-General of Canada by the people of mixed ancestry at the town of Penetanguishine. Comparing their economic and political circumstances with those of other "halfbreed" groups in the Province of Canada, they asked to be included in the annual present-day giving. Driben (1987, p. 9) indicates, from a 1863 letter in the *Boron Reports Transcripts,*[4] that there was a distinct community of Indian/European ancestry at Sault Ste.-Marie at that time. Some "halfbreeds" were identified



Source: 1981 Canadian Census, Special Census of the Native Peoples, Microfiche SDN81B21

FIGURE 2: LOCATION OF THE METIS POPULATION IN ONTARIO, 1981

and included in the annuity paylists of the 1850 Robinson Superior and Huron treaties (McNab, 1985, p. 62; Morris, 1971, pp. 19-20). In 1875, the groups at Rainy River and Rainy Lake were able to negotiate a "halfbreed adhesion" to Treaty 3 (see McNab, 1983 for details). In the early 1900s, members of the "halfbreed" population were admitted to Treaty 9, with Indians, at Fort Albany and Abitibi and possibly other places, but excluded at Moose Factory (Long, 1978; McNab, 1985, pp. 70-71; Manore,1988).

While the record suggests that historically in Ontario, there were groups and communities of mixed ancestry who saw themselves and were seen by others as being neither Indian nor European, the link between the historic "halfbreed" communities and the people who call themselves "Métis" in contemporary Ontario is not clear. Federal government policy, as it evolved in the late 1800s and early 1900s, was to treat people of Indian and European ancestry as either one or the other. Leighton (n.d., p. 26) writes that the legal and social reality of the "halfbreeds" of Ontario was that:

> they had to choose whether they would be Indian or white. Once the choice was made, they in many ways ceased to be people "in between." Their dilemma was not an enviable one: either choice meant giving up something of their unique inheritance. Politically, they remained extremely vulnerable . . . Legally, they had no distinct existence. This policy, then, may have encouraged people of European and Indian origins to ignore or bury their ancestry.

It is also not clear to what extend people who called themselves and were known as "halfbreeds" would adopt the term "Métis." "Halfbreed" was not an option either in the Census or in the OMNSIA survey. Nevertheless, at present there are concentrations of Métis near many of the historic locations of the Ontario "halfbreeds." The 1981 Census included a special census of the Native peoples, and Métis populations counts are available at the census subdivision level. Figure 2 shows their distribution.[5] Slightly more than 16 percent of the Métis population in Ontario was concentrated in Toronto. Aside from this urban population, most of the people who identified themselves as Métis in the 1981 Census were in the Northern areas of the province, near the centres where the Ontario Métis seem to have originated. It seems likely that a number of the people who call themselves "Métis" in contemporary Ontario are using this term to reflect their historic roots in a population which saw itself as neither European nor Indian.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS

There are very few sources of information about the socio-economic characteristics of the Métis in any part of Canada. Most census publications group Métis and Non-Status Indians together. Even the 1981 Special Census of the Native Peoples provides separate statistics for the Métis only for popu-

TABLE 3.1
AGE: ONTARIO POPULATION AND MÉTIS RESPONDENTS

Age Cohort	Ontario Population		Métis Respondents	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
20.34	2,358,425	36.9	333	42.0
35-64	3,116,365	48.8	375	47.3
65+	911,410	14.3	45	5.7
Total	6,386,200	100.0	792	100.0

TABLE 3.2
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION OBTAINED: ONTARIO POPULATION AND MÉTIS RESPONDENTS

Level of Education	Ontario Population		Métis Respondents	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
None/Kinder-garten*	73,790	1.0	27	3.9
Grade 1-4	132,430	1.9	31	4.5
Grade 5-8	834,280	11.7	144	21.0
Grade 9-13 (no certificate)	2,030,990	28.5	419	60.9
High School Certificate/ Diploma	946,425	13.3	NA	--
Other Non-University	1,722,795	24.2	NA	--
Some College	NA		12	1.8
Completed College	NA		15	2.2
Some University	326,830	4.6	16	2.3
University Certificate/ Degree	1,065,270	14.9	21	3.1
Other Post-Secondary	NA	NA	2	0.3
Total	7,132,810	100.0	687	100.0

*On the Questionnaire this category is "None."

lation counts. The following paragraphs provide information about the Métis respondents to the OMNSIA questionnaire, and compare the Métis with Ontario residents using 1986 Census data.

Readers should keep in mind that provincial totals include Métis. As a result, differences between the two populations may be underemphasized. Readers should also remember that the survey respondents are slightly different from the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian population identified in the Census. These differences are summarized in Chapter 2.

We begin the analysis with a description of the family origins, using questions on the survey form which provide some information about the ethnicity of spouses and relatives of survey respondents. Approximately half of the Métis respondents indicated that they were married or living common- law. Of these individuals, about half (48.6%) indicated that their partner was non-Native; in other words, about one quarter of Métis respondents have a non-Native spouse.

One of the survey questions was: "Most of my family (include aunts, uncles and other relatives) are: . . .", with four possible answers--Status Indians, Non-Status Indians, Métis and Other. Many respondents checked more than one response, making analysis of results complex. The largest number of Métis respondents checked off only one category - Métis. Almost half (45.4%) indicated that most of their relatives were Métis. Almost an additional fifth (18.6%) indicated that their relatives were Métis and some other group. The next largest single response category was Status Indians (21.8%). Very few checked Non-Status Indian only (4.9%), or "Other" only (5.4%).

These results require more probing which is not possible with the OMNSIA data, especially since answers regarding the ethnicity of respondents' spouses suggest that there would be a greater number of non-Native relatives. The data do suggest, however, that the Métis are more likely to marry other Métis than either other Native individuals or non-Native individuals. When Métis do marry into other Native families, these families are most likely to be Status Indians; there appears to be relatively little intermarrying with Non-Status Indians.

Comparing Métis respondents with the Ontario population by gender shows that slightly more Métis (53.4%) than Ontario residents (48.7%) are male. Survey respondents are over-represented in younger age groups, compared with the total Ontario population (Table 3.1). Table 3.2 demonstrates that Ontario Métis responding to the survey have considerably lower levels of education than the total Ontario population. A number of the categories are not strictly comparable. However, 90.3 percent of Métis do not have a high school certificate, compared with 43.1 percent of the Ontario population.

The occupational picture is complex. One hundred and seven respondents did not fill in the occupation question. One hundred and seventy-nine respondents indicated they were either disabled

TABLE 3.3
MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS:
ONTARIO POPULATION AND MÉTIS RESPONDENTS

Census		Ontario Population		Métis Respondents	
Occupation Description	Occupation Group	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Managerial	11-33	1,125,190	23.9	83	18.6
Clerical	41	930,425	19.7	45	10.1
Sales	51	443,905	9.4	10	2.2
Service	61	576,430	12.2	61	13.7
Primary	71-77	174,850	3.7	61	13.7
Processing	81-82	151,015	3.2	10	2.2
Machining	83-85	566,085	12.0	33	7.4
Construction	87	264,675	5.6	26	5.8
Transport-ation	91-95	324,530	6.9	39	8.7
Other		158,900*	3.4	78**	17.5
Total		4,716,005	100.0	446	99.9

*Includes "Other" and "Occupation not elsewhere classified."

**"Other" includes those who identified themselves as self-employed, but did not give an occupation, as well as those who gave an occupation whcih could not be classified elsewhere.

TABLE 3.4
LABOUR FORCE ACTIVITY:
ONTARIO POPULATION AND MÉTIS RESPONDENTS

Labour Force Activity	Ontario Population*		Métis Respondents	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Employed	4,585,150	64.3	330	50.1
Not Employed or Not in Labour Force	2,547,660	35.7	329	49.9
Total	7,132,810	100.0	659	100.0

*For population fifteen and over.

(5), students (50), pensioners (28), or housewives (96). The occupations of the remaining respondents are shown in Table 3.3.

Compared with the total Ontario population, Métis respondents to the OMNSIA questionnaire were only slightly under-represented in managerial and professional occupations. This finding does not correspond to indications in the literature linking self-identification as Métis with poverty and a labouring or trapping lifestyle. Breaking down the larger occupational category shows some clustering: eight of the respondents appear to be civil servants, eleven were in general management positions, and sixteen were in various social work occupations. It may be, as Peters (1989) found for urban Indians in Saskatchewan, that individuals belonging to particular groups of Native peoples are finding employment in Native organizations, or as representatives of their Native groups in various government or service organizations.

Survey respondents were highly over-represented in primary occupations: almost four times as many Métis were in primary occupations as were Ontario residents. Of the Métis in primary occupations, only seventeen indicated that their occupation was trapping or fishing. Most of the respondents in this category were involved in some kind of logging occupation. Métis were also over-represented in the "Other" category. When this category is broken down, the majority (66 of 72 respondents) were in various labouring occupations. Overall then, the Métis respondents were more likely to be found in occupations which are usually at lower skill and lower wage levels.

While unemployment rates cannot be calculated from the OMNSIA questionnaire, Table 3.4 suggests that Métis respondents have more difficulty finding employment than Ontario residents in general. Almost two thirds of Ontario residents were employed, compared with about half of the Métis surveyed. Moreover, almost a third (32.7%) of Métis respondents who were employed indicated that their work was seasonal.

Table 3.5 confirms the results of other surveys which indicate that Métis families tend to be larger than non-Native families (DIAND, 1984). Approximately one third of both Métis and Ontario families have no children. Of families with children, Métis families are likely to be larger.

Métis families are considerably more likely to be single-parent families than are Ontario families in general. While 11.8 percent of Ontario families were single-parent families, 26.8 percent of Métis families were single parent. Similar patterns have been found in other studies of Native families (Falconer, 1987; Peters, 1984).

Table 3.6 compares the geographic location of Métis and Non-Status Indians answering the OMNSIA survey with the location of the total Ontario population. Clearly, the Ontario population is much more urbanized, with over 90 percent living in the urban core region of Southern Ontario. In comparison,

TABLE 3.5
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY:
ONTARIO POPULATION AND MÉTIS RESPONDENTS

Number of Children	Ontario Population		Métis Respondents	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
None	816,525	33.3	255	35.3
1 to 2	1,296,960	53.0	238	33.0
3 to 4	314,230	12.8	144	19.9
5 to 6	16,080	0.7	48	6.7
More than 6	1,935	0.1	37	5.1
Total	2,445,740	99.9	722	100.0

TABLE 3.6
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION BY OMNSIA ZONES:
ONTARIO POPULATION AND MÉTIS RESPONDENTS

Zone Number	Description	Ontario Population		Métis Respondents	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1-4	North	798,140*	8.8	585	83.2
5	South	8,303,544	91.2	118	16.8
	Total	9,101,694	100.0	703	100.0

*Includes Census Divisions 48 to 60.

over 80 percent of the Métis and Non-Status Indians surveyed lived in the Northern areas of the province. Chapter 2 showed that the OMNSIA survey over-sampled Northern residents. Nevertheless, Census figures still indicate that Métis and Non-Status Indians are more than three times more likely than Ontario residents in general to live in Ontario's Northern areas.

Most of the Métis lived in communities of less than five thousand people. When asked about the population composition of the community they lived in, almost all (93.9%) indicated that they lived in a mixed (Native and non-Native) community. A very small proportion (1.5%) lived on reserves or in Métis/Non-Status Indian communities (4.6%).

SUMMARY

Responses to questions about family origins suggest that there is relatively little intermarriage between Non-Status Indians and Métis in Ontario. Métis respondents indicated that their extended family consisted primarily of Métis or of Status Indians. However, the questionnaire did not allow for an in-depth exploration of the issue.

Sawchuk (1978) has argued that the emphasis on a Métis identity is, at least in part, an attempt to organize a population to counteract the underprivileged position which the Métis occupy in the Canadian mosaic. St.-Onge (1989) found that Métis identity was often associated with seasonal employment and a marginal economic position as much as it was with ancestry. Lagasse (1959, pp. 56-57) made a similar point. The data from this survey suggest that the socio-economic position of people who identify themselves as Métis may be undergoing some changes. There is a substantial number of people in professional occupations who indicated that they were Métis in response to the OMNSIA survey.

However, the majority of the survey respondents did appear to be economically disadvantaged compared with the general Ontario population. Their levels of education are lower, they are more likely to be found in low-wage, low-skill occupations, they are less likely to be employed, and they are more likely to be single parents--a family type frequently associated with poverty. Métis are also more likely to have larger families, and therefore more dependents. Finally, they are more likely to live in Northern areas, making access to many services relatively difficult.

CHAPTER 4
ONTARIO MÉTIS ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY

The responses to a number of questions in the OMNSIA survey allowed us to explore some dimensions of identity for Métis people living in Ontario. The following section outlines the survey questions employed in the analysis. In the remaining sections, we attempt to answer two main questions. First, what are the general dimensions of a Métis identity demonstrated by responses to various questions? Second, are responses similar or different for Métis individuals with different socio-economic characteristics?

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Three "clusters" of questions from the questionnaire were used in the analysis of Métis identity. The first cluster is concerned with the respondent's identity as an Aboriginal person. The questions selected are:

Cluster 1: Relationship to Aboriginal Identity

- I consider myself a person of Aboriginal ancestry.
- I would legally register myself as an Aboriginal if I were given the opportunity to do so.
- I use an Aboriginal language at home.
- Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in my life.

These questions explore whether or not individuals identify with their Aboriginal ancestry. They also explore several ways in which that identification could be expressed--through language use, and through continued adherence to Aboriginal values.

Unfortunately, the terms "Aboriginal" or "Aboriginal ancestry" are not defined anywhere in the questionnaire, so we cannot specify with any certainty what these terms signified to respondents. The question "Aboriginal and spiritual values . . . " also contains some ambiguity, since the religion of many Métis, particularly those of French/Indian origins, is Roman Catholicism. However, the question does use "and," not "or," and it is likely that individuals agreeing with this statement are also agreeing that Aboriginal values (however defined) are important in their lives.

The second cluster of questions explores the extent to which the respondent's identity is related to Indian identity. The questions are:

Cluster 2: Relationship to Indian Identity

- I wish to be reinstated as an Indian under the Indian Act.

TABLE 4.1
RELATIONSHIP TO ABORIGINAL ANCENSTRY:
ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS
(PERCENTAGES)

Question	Yes	No	Not Sure
I consider myself a person of Aboriginal ancestry.	97.7	2.3	--
I would legally register myself as an Aboriginal person if I were given the opportunity to do so.	97.3	2.7	--
I use an Aboriginal language at home.	19.5	80.5	--
Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in my life	71.3	28.7	--

- I would like to be reinstated to the band of my ancestry.
- I think I should have a legal status as a Métis or Indian apart from Status Indians under the Indian Act.
- If I would legally register as an Aboriginal person, I would register myself as an (Indian, Inuit, Métis).

These questions may appear repetitive. However, given our limited knowledge of how Métis and Non-Status Indians interpret different facets of Indian status, we decided to include all items in the analysis. Once again, there are some ambiguities in the interpretation of the questions. In particular, the second question could be seen as irrelevant to respondents who had not lost their status through enfranchisement provisions of the *Indian Act*. However, the question could also be interpreted in an historical context, with affirmative responses representing a desire to rejoin the band from which their Indian ancestors originally came. Responses to this question must be evaluated in the context of responses to the other questions in the cluster.

In the third cluster the relationship between the respondent's identity and the issue of assimilation with non-Aboriginal society is explored. The five questions which form Cluster 3 are:

Cluster 3: Relationship to Larger Society

- I think the Métis should have a land base in Ontario.
- I would move to a Métis land base.
- I think that Native people have adequate representation in the present Canadian political system.
- I think Native people should have their own elected representatives in the non-Aboriginal government.
- To develop their culture Native people need separate institutions (e.g., schools, social services, media, government).

These questions, then, address the issues of absorption into Canadian society in terms of a separate land base, separate political representation and the desire for separate institutions for cultural preservation.

The land base question may require some care in interpretation. It is possible that some respondents might have read the question as asking whether Ontario Métis individuals should be given land. However, it is most likely that respondents would interpret a "Métis land-base" to mean either something equivalent to an Indian reserve, or something like one of the Alberta Métis settlements, since these two models would be most familiar to the majority of questionnaire respondents.

It should be noted that three questions in this cluster refer to "Natives," not just to "Métis," and this must be taken into account in the interpretation. The last question in the cluster requires some

TABLE 4.2
RELATIONSHIP TO INDIAN IDENTITY:
ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS
(PERCENTAGES)

Question	Yes	No	Not Sure
I wish to be reinstated under the Indian Act	60.2	18.3	21.5
I would like to be reinstated to the band of my ancestry	60.7	12.5	26.8
I think I should have a legal status as a Métis or Indian apart from Status Indians under the Indian Act	76.9	6.5	16.6
	Indian	Inuit	Métis
If I would legally register as an Aboriginal person, I would register myself as:	28.1	0.0	71.9

additional explanation. On the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether or not they felt Native people needed separate schools, social services, media systems, government or other institutions to develop their culture. For this analysis, any response indicating that one or more institutions was required was coded as positive.

Missing responses are not included in the following tables, so percentages listed are the proportion of those answering each question. The number of non-responses to each question can be found in Appendix B.[6]

MÉTIS IDENTITY

Chapter 1 listed some elements of what it means to be Métis in contemporary Canadian society, including the reinterpretation of events at Red River, identification with Red River history, and the emphasis on various cultural markers. Here we extend the analysis by exploring, in aggregate, the attitudes and opinions of individuals identifying themselves as Métis.

Table 4.1 describes responses to the questions on Aboriginal ancestry. Métis answers to the first two questions show a strong sense of Aboriginal identity (however defined). More than 97 percent of Métis respondents stated that they consider themselves to be of Aboriginal ancestry and would legally register as an Aboriginal person if given the opportunity.

Only about one fifth of Métis respondents used an Aboriginal language at home, and only two individuals indicated that more than one Aboriginal language was used. When asked what this language was, 54.7 percent indicated Ojibwa was spoken at home, 27.7 percent indicated Cree, 1.7 percent indicated Algonquin and 11.7 percent indicated some other language. A breakdown of the "Other" category is not available, so there is no indication of the extent to which Michef is spoken in these homes (cf. Crawford, 1983).[7] The wording of the question may also have discouraged respondents from indicating they spoke Michef. Aboriginal and spiritual values continue to be important in everyday life for almost three quarters of Métis respondents.

Table 4.2 describes the distribution of responses to questions relating to Indian status and identity. While sixty percent of the Métis respondents said they wish to be reinstated under the Indian Act or to the band of their ancestry, more than three quarters indicated that they preferred a legal status apart from Status Indians. When asked whether they would register themselves as Indian, Inuit or Métis, 71.9 percent of Métis respondents indicated that they would register as Métis. A likely interpretation of these responses is that the first two questions reflect a desire for legal status of some kind, but that given the choice, most Métis would prefer to have that status as Métis rather than as Indian. This suggests that there is a fairly strong sense of "Métisness" independent of Indian heritage among Métis respondents.

TABLE 4.3
RELATIONSHIP TO LARGER SOCIETY:
ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS
(PERCENTAGES)

Question	Yes	No	Not Sure
I think the Métis should have a land base in Ontario	75.9	6.7	17.4
I would move to a Métis land base	36.6	24.3	39.1
Native people have adequate representation in the present Canadian political system	18.7	51.6	29.7
Native people should have own elected representatives in the non-Aboriginal government	78.2	4.9	16.9
	Yes		No response
To develop their culture, Native people need separate institutions (e.g., schools, social services, media systems, government)	83.5		16.5

The third cluster of questions elicited responses concerning the relationship of Aboriginal peoples to the larger Canadian society. Three quarters of Métis respondents agreed that the Métis should have a land base in Ontario. However, lower levels of support are shown in the question about whether the respondent would move to a Métis land base. These lower levels of support are to be expected, given the number of external factors which enter into a decision to move, for example the nature of the land base created, present family stage and economic circumstances. It is interesting, though, that only one quarter of respondents gave a "No" answer to the second question, and more than one third were "Not Sure." Taken together, these results suggest that few Métis respondents reject outright the idea of moving to a separate Métis land area.

Just over half of Métis respondents stated that Native peoples do not have adequate representation in the present Canadian political system, and approximately 78 percent agreed that Native people should have their own elected representatives to the non-Aboriginal government. There is a sense, then, in which non-Aboriginal members of government do not adequately represent the interests of Native people. These responses suggest a sense of separateness and separate interests for Métis respondents.

The last question focuses on the need for separate institutions and services to develop and perpetuate a Native culture. Here, a very large majority, over 80 percent, indicated that at least one type of institution was needed.

In summary, then, the analysis in this section demonstrates several dimensions of Métis identity. Clearly, individuals calling themselves "Métis" have a strong sense of being Aboriginal people, however they define this, even though relatively few use an Aboriginal language at home. Many consider Aboriginal and spiritual values to be important. Métis respondents prefer to have a legal status apart from that of Status Indians, and there is considerable support for separate lands, political representation and separate institutions to preserve Native culture.

INTRA-MÉTIS COMPARISONS

In this section, we explore the degree of variation in the responses of Métis with different characteristics. If ethnicity is a dynamic phenomenon with a voluntary element of self-identification, then there are some fascinating questions to be raised about what elements different people tend to emphasize in defining their ethnic identity. Are older people likely to define their Métisness in different terms than

TABLE 4.4
MÉTIS RESPONSES BY AGE: ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS (%)

Question	Less than 35			35 - 64			65+		
CLUSTER 1 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Consider myself Aborig. ancest.	98	2	--	97	3	--	96	4	--
Would legally reg. as Aborig.	97	3	--	98	2	--	97	3	--
Use an Aborig. lang. at home	11	89	--	27	73	--	52	48	--
Aborig./spirit. values import.	66	34	--	77	23	--	86	14	--
CLUSTER 2 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Wish reinst. under Indian Act	59	18	23	61	19	20	70	17	13
Like to be reinst. to band of my ancestry	60	12	28	62	13	25	68	9	23
Should have legal stat. apart from Status Ind. in Ind. Act	74	7	19	81	5	14	75	14	11
	Ind.	Métis		Ind.	Métis		Ind.	Métis	
If leg. reg. as Abor. person would reg. as:	29	71		27	73		28	72	
CLUSTER 3 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Métis should have a land base	69	8	23	83	6	11	86	4	10
Would move to Métis land base	30	25	45	43	23	34	39	29	32
Nat. Cdns. have adequate rep. in the pres. Cdn. pol. system	20	52	28	16	53	31	30	33	37
Nat. people should have own elected reps. in non-Aborig. govt.	78	4	18	78	6	16	82	4	14
	Yes	No Resp.		Yes	No Resp.		Yes	No Resp.	
To devel. their culture, Nat. people need sep. institutions	84	16		83	17		81	19	

younger generations, for example? Are there variations by gender? What are the effects of education, employment and urbanization on the content of people's ethnicity?

Clearly, the nature of the data limits our analysis. In addition, there is relatively little research in this area upon which we can draw to inform our expectations about results. The intention in this section, then, is to explore, in a preliminary fashion, the degree of homogeneity of values and opinions on issues raised by the OMNSIA questionnaire expressed by people who identify themselves as Métis. Only tables showing major variations in responses among categories are presented.

In Table 4.4, Métis responses are organized by three age categories. Almost all Métis in each of the three categories consider themselves to be Aboriginal persons or persons of Aboriginal ancestry. Younger respondents are considerably less likely to speak an Aboriginal language at home, and are also less likely to indicate that Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in their lives.

Cluster 2, which describes identification with Indian ancestry, shows that older people (65+) are more likely to want reinstatement under the *Indian Act*, and to the band of their ancestry. Differences between the groups are not very great, however, and similar percentages of all age groups appear to support a legal status apart from Indian status.

The last cluster of questions shows that older people are more likely to favour the establishment of a Métis land base, and to consider moving there. Respondents sixty-five and older are also more likely to think that Native people had adequate representation in the contemporary Canadian political system. Older people's Métis identity appears to be more closely related to a cultural dimension-- Aboriginal language use, identification with Indian ancestry, and the establishment of separate Métis communities. The Métis identity of younger people appears to have a greater political dimension. These are interesting patterns which deserve further exploration.

TABLE 4.5
MÉTIS RESPONSES BY EDUCATION LEVEL: ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS (%)

Question	Primary			Secondary			Post-Sec.		
CLUSTER 1 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Consider myself Aborig. ancest.	98	2	–	98	2	–	98	2	–
Would legally reg. as Aborig.	96	4	–	98	2	–	98	2	–
Use an Aborig. lang. at home	38	62	–	10	90	–	13	87	–
Aborig./spirit. values import.	70	30	–	70	30	–	86	21	–
CLUSTER 2 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Wish reinst. under Indian Act	60	21	19	61	16	23	60	25	15
Like to be reinst. to band of my ancestry	56	16	28	62	11	27	67	15	18
Should have legal stat. apart from Status Ind. in Ind. Act	82	5	13	74	7	19	81	8	11
	Ind.		Métis	Ind.		Métis	Ind.		Métis
If leg. reg. as Abor. person would reg. as:	27		73	27		73	29		71
CLUSTER 3 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Métis should have a land base	83	5	12	73	7	20	69	11	20
Would move to Métis land base	44	23	33	35	23	42	21	36	43
Nat. Cdns. have adequate rep. in the pres. Cdn. pol. system	17	45	38	21	51	28	5	81	14
Nat. people should have own elected reps. in non-Aborig. govt.	77	5	18	78	5	17	77	6	17
	Yes		No Resp.	Yes		No Resp.	Yes		No Resp.
To devel. their culture, Nat. people need sep. institutions	87		13	81		19	85		15

In Table 4.5, Métis responses are compared by stated level of education. "Primary" refers to those whose level of completed education is primary grades or less, "secondary" indicates those who have some secondary level education or have completed high school, and "post-secondary" refers to those whose educational level includes work beyond high school.

There is little variation by education level for questions about Aboriginal ancestry. However, individuals with primary education are considerably more likely to use an Aboriginal language at home, while individuals with post-secondary education are more likely to agree that Aboriginal and spiritual values are important in their lives. Clearly, higher education is not associated with a rejection of these values.

Responses to Cluster 2 questions show that individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to wish reinstatement to the band of their ancestry. Distributions for other questions either show no differences, or do not indicate any clear trends. In the last cluster, higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of support for, and less willingness to move to, a Métis land base, and a greater feeling that Native Canadians do not have adequate political representation.

Responses by employment status are shown in Table 4.6. The categories represent individuals who indicated that they were presently employed or not presently employed in response to the OMNSIA questionnaire. Being employed or not had very little effect on responses to questions concerning Aboriginal ancestry or heritage, or to questions concerning Indian identity. Only two questions showed a 5 percent difference in responses. Employed respondents are less likely to use an Aboriginal language at home, and more likely to support having a legal status apart from that of Status Indians.

There are some differences by employment for questions which had to do with relationship to the larger society. Respondents who are employed are slightly less willing to move to a Métis land base. Answers to questions about political representation appear somewhat contradictory. While employed respondents are less likely to agree that Native Canadians had adequate representation in the Canadian political system, fewer employed than not-employed respondents indicated that Native Canadians should have their own elected representatives. The magnitude of the difference for the latter question is not very large, however--only 5 percent. Finally, employed respondents are slightly less likely to think that Native people needed separate institutions to develop their culture.

TABLE 4.6: MÉTIS RESPONSES BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS: ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS (%)

Question	Employed			Not Employed		
CLUSTER 1 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Consider myself Aborig. ancest.	97	3	–	98	2	–
Would legally reg. as Aborig.	97	3	–	98	2	–
Use an Aborig. lang. at home	16	84	–	21	79	–
Aborig./spirit. values import.	74	26	–	70	30	–
CLUSTER 2 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Wish reinst. under Indian Act	59	20	21	62	17	21
Like to be reinst. to band of my ancestry	63	12	25	59	13	28
Should have legal stat. apart from Status Ind. in Ind. Act	80	5	15	75	8	17
	Ind.	Métis		Ind.	Métis	
If leg. reg. as Abor. person would reg. as:	27	73		30	70	
CLUSTER 3 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Métis should have a land base	76	8	16	76	6	18
Would move to Métis land base	35	26	39	40	21	40
Nat. Cdns. have adequate rep. in the pres. Cdn. pol. system	15	58	26	23	46	31
Nat. people should have own elected reps. in non-Aborig. govt.	76	7	18	81	3	16
	Yes	No. Resp.		Yes	No Resp.	
To devel. their culture, Nat. people need sep. institutions	80	20		85	15	

In summary, then, the effect of employment is somewhat unclear. While there are indications that employment has assimilative tendencies (less willingness to move to a Métis land base, less support for separate institutions or political representatives), the magnitude of the effect is small. At the same time, a very large majority of respondents in both categories consider themselves to be Aboriginal people, would register as Métis, and support separate Native institutions.

Table 4.7 examines the effects of residential location. "North" refers to those respondents living in OMNSIA Zones 1, 2, 3, and 4, while "South" refers to those living in OMNSIA Zone 5, the more densely populated urbanized area of Southern Ontario (Figure 1.0). The OMNSIA survey under-sampled urban areas in the Southern part of the province, and therefore the results of the following analysis must be seen as suggestive only.

Again, questions about Aboriginal identity and ancestry showed almost no variation between categories. In comparison, questions about language and values varied considerably, with individuals living in the North much more likely to use an Aboriginal language, and individuals in the South much more likely to consider Aboriginal and spiritual values to be important. Métis in the South are more likely to indicate that they would register as Métis rather than as Indian. While support for and willingness to move to a Métis land base is similar for respondents in both locations, Métis in the South are less satisfied that the present political system gave Native people adequate representation, and more likely to support separate institutions for the development of Native culture.

In summary, the responses to the OMNSIA questionnaire suggest that youth, gender, higher education, employment and urbanization are not associated with lower levels of commitment to a Métis identity. High percentages of respondents in all categories thought that the Métis should have legal status apart from Indian status, and would register as Métis rather than as Indian if given the opportunity to do so. However, some of the elements which are important to people varied for different age groups, people with different levels of education, and people living in different areas of the province.

TABLE 4.7: MÉTIS RESPONSES BY REGION: ONTARIO MÉTIS RESPONDENTS (%)

Question	North			South		
CLUSTER 1 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Consider myself Aborig. ancest.	97	3	–	99	1	–
Would legally reg. as Aborig.	97	3	–	99	1	–
Use an Aborig. lang. at home	22	78	–	6	94	–
Aborig./spirit. values import.	69	31	–	86	14	–
CLUSTER 2 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Wish reinst. under Indian Act	0	19	21	60	19	21
Like to be reinst. to band of my ancestry	60	13	27	62	14	24
Should have legal stat. apart from Status Ind. in Ind. Act	76	7	17	80	5	14
		Ind.	Métis		Ind.	Métis
If leg. reg. as Abor. person would reg. as:		30	70		20	80
CLUSTER 3 RESPONSES	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
Métis should have a land base	75	6	18	79	8	13
Would move to Métis land base	37	24	39	36	23	41
Nat. Cdns. have adequate rep. in the pres. Cdn. pol. system	21	47	3	9	70	21
Nat. people should have own elected reps. in non-Aborig. govt.	78	5	17	77	6	17
		Yes	No. Resp.		Yes	No Resp.
To devel. their culture, Nat. people need sep. institutions		82	1		92	8

CHAPTER 5
ONTARIO MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

This chapter compares the Métis respondents and Non-Status Indian respondents with the OMNSIA survey. It begins with a review of some of the literature that describes how these separate "categories" of Aboriginal peoples were created through state policies, and what are the implications for self-identification. The following sections compared Métis and Non-Status Indian respondents' socio-economic characteristics, and the ways in which they responded to statements on the OMNSIA questionnaire.

STATE POLICIES CONCERNING THE MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

In the mid-nineteenth century, in an attempt to encourage the process of assimilation, the federal government introduced mechanisms whereby Status Indians lost their status, either voluntarily or involuntarily, and became "ordinary" Canadian citizens (Tobias, 1983). Between 1876 and 1985, more than 20,000 Status Indians were enfranchised (Frideres, 1988, p. 12). Boisvert and Turnbull (1985, p. 138) point out that provisions for enfranchisement created a group of Aboriginal peoples who: "share precisely the circumstances which most distinguished the Métis from the Indians after 1885: the fact that they stood outside treaty." During the 1960s and 1970s, the Métis and Non-Status Indians formed common associations to promote their interests in many provinces. In 1970, the Native Council of Canada came into being to provide an umbrella organization for these associations at the national level.

The similarity of the administrative and political status of the Métis and the Non-Status Indians was reinforced through various federal policies in the mid-1970s. Characterized as economically disadvantaged peoples, they became eligible for the same federally-initiated programs and policies designed to facilitate social and economic development (Weaver, 1985). Métis and Non-Status Indians were not differentiated in these programs, and attempts to estimate their numbers as a basis for projecting program costs did not provide separate counts of their populations (see, e.g., Taylor, 1979).

Recently, several developments have encouraged these populations to accentuate the differences between them. Section 35(2) of the *Constitution Act* of 1982 (as amended) identified Aboriginal peoples as including the Indian, Inuit and Métis. It neglected, however, to include Non-Status Indians. Sawchuk (1875, p. 144) argues that one result of the constitutional wording has been to drive a wedge between Métis and Non-Status Indians, particularly on the Prairies. He cites as an example the 1977 membership code of the Métis association of Alberta, which made eligible any person with mixed

TABLE 5.1
GENDER: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Gender	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Male	385	53.4	343	41.9
Female	336	46.6	475	58.1
Total	721	100.0	818	100.0

TABLE 5.2
AGE: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Age Cohort	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Under 20	57	8.2	89	4.9
20 - 34	320	45.9	333	42.1
35 - 64	288	41.4	375	47.3
65 +	31	4.5	45	5.7
Total	696	100.0	792	100.0

TABLE 5.3
EDUCATION: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Level of Education	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
None	27	3.9	33	4.3
Grade 1-4	31	4.5	48	6.2
Grade 5-8	144	21.0	199	25.7
Grade 9-13	419	60.9	455	58.8
Some College	12	1.8	13	1.7
Compl. College	15	2.2	7	0.9
Some University	16	2.3	4	0.5
Univ. Cert./Degree	21	3.1	11	1.4
Other	2	0.3	4	0.5
Total	687	100.0	774	100.0

Indian and Non-Indian blood or any Non-Status Indian or their spouse (Métis Association of Alberta, 1977). In 1984, the membership criteria were amended to read:

> A Métis is an aboriginal person who declares himself/herself to be a Métis person, and can produce satisfactory historical or acceptable legal proof that he/she is a Métis, or has traditionally felt himself/herself to be a Métis, and is accepted by the Métis people as a Métis (Métis Association of Alberta, 1984, quoted in Sawchuck, 1985).

Sawchuk (1985, p. 144) predicts that section 35(2) of the *Constitution Act* will become institutionalized among the Métis, and they will no longer identify with the Non-Status Indians.

Legislation introduced in 1985 for the reinstatement of Non-Status Indians added complexity to the issue. Bill C-31, *An Act to Amend the Indian Act*, makes Indians who lost their status through marriage, or, for a variety of other reasons, eligible to have it restored. While early expectations were that this legislation would dissolve much of the Non-Status Indian classification, a substantial population remains unable to have its status restored for a variety of reasons.[8] In addition to many cultural elements this population shares with the Métis, then, it continues to share exclusion from the *Indian Act*. Given the definition of Aboriginal peoples in the *Constitution Act*, it is an interesting question whether these Non-Status Indians will eventually call themselves "Métis."

The implications for Métis identity of these policies are complex and contradictory. Placing the Métis and the Non-Status Indians in the same category for program eligibility should contribute to the erosion of a separate Métis identity. The section on Aboriginal peoples in the Constitution and the First Conferences on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters may have helped to strengthen the sense of a separate identity. The implications of Bill C-31 are not clear.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN COMPARISONS

In Table 5.1, Métis and Non-Status Indian respondents to the OMNSIA survey are compared on the basis of gender. The majority of Métis respondents are male (53.4%) while the majority of Non-Status Indian respondents are female (58.1%). This may be a reflection of the fact that one of the main ways of losing status was by marriage of Indian women to men who are not Status Indians.

Table 5.2 compares the age distribution of respondents. Four age groups are used: aged 19 years or less; aged 20 to 34; aged 35 to 64; and aged 65 years or more. It can be seen that there are only small differences in the age distributions of the two groups. There are slightly more Métis in the two younger age cohorts and slightly more Non-Status Indians in the two older cohorts. When educational level of Métis and Non-Status Indian respondents is compared in Table 5.3, the differences, again, are minor. For both sets of respondents, the modal level of education is Grades 9 to 13.

TABLE 5.7
MARITAL STATUS: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Gender	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Single	340	47.2	353	43.4
Married/Common Law	381	52.8	461	56.6
Total	721	100.0	814	100.0

TABLE 5.8
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Number of Children	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
None	255	35.3	215	26.3
1 to 2	238	33.0	251	30.7
3 to 4	144	19.9	187	22.8
5 to 6	48	6.7	109	13.3
More than 6	37	5.1	57	6.9
	722	100.0	819	100.0

TABLE 5.9: FAMILY STRUCTURE: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Marital Status	Number of Children	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
		Freq.	Perc.	Freq.	Perc.
Single					
Males	None	119	17.0	111	13.8
	Some	45	6.4	45	5.6
Females	None	75	10.7	53	6.6
	Some	91	13.0	138	17.2
Marr./Com. Law					
Males	None	32	4.6	25	3.1
	Some	177	25.2	156	19.5
Females	None	22	3.1	22	2.7
	Some	140	20.0	252	31.4
Total		701	100.0	802	100.0

Labour force activity by major occupational group is presented in Table 5.4. Occupational categories correspond to those used by Statistics Canada. Again, the differences when comparing the two groups are minimal. The only categories with more than a 5.0 percent difference are primary and service occupations. This may be a reflection of the greater percentage of Non-Status Indians who are female.

Since only 446 of 722 Métis and 425 of 819 Non-Status Indian respondents identify an occupation, Table 5.5 provides information on the remaining respondents' activities. The most commonly identified activity was housewife and substantially more Non-Status Indian than Métis identified themselves this way.

Patterns of labour force activity are consistent with other demographic, labour force and occupational data (Table 5.6). Métis respondents are considerably more likely to be currently employed than Non-Status Indians. Part of this difference may arise from the over-representation of female Non-Status Indians respondents in conjunction with, as the following tables demonstrate, generally larger families among Non-Status Indians, which may represent a barrier to employment.

Table 5.7 describes the pattern of marital status for survey respondents. Married and common-law responses are aggregated, while "single" includes single, separated, divorced and widowed responses. More respondents in both groups are married or living common-law than are in some form of single status, and the percentage distributions are highly similar.

Although the two groups are similar in terms of marital status, Table 5.8 shows that Métis respondents generally had fewer children than Non-Status Indians. Among the Métis, 68.3 percent of respondents said they had no children, or one or two children, compared with only 57.0 percent of Non-Status Indians. Conversely, only 31.7 percent of Métis respondents said they had three or more children, compared with 43.0 percent of Non-Status Indian respondents.

TABLE 5.10
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Zone No.	Description	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
		Freq.	Perc.	Freq.	Perc.
1	North West	171	24.3	139	17.2
2	North Central	113	16.1	142	17.6
3	North East	107	15.2	170	21.1
4	Central	194	27.6	234	29.0
5	Southern	118	16.8	122	15.1
	Total	703	100.0	807	100.0

TABLE 5.11
COMMUNITY SIZE: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Community Size	Métis		Non-Status Indians	
	Freq.	Perc.	Freq.	Perc.
Small < 5,000	415	62.9	450	59.8
Large 5,000 +	245	37.1	303	40.2
Total	660	100.0	753	100.0

TABLE 5.12
FAMILY ORIGINS: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Ethnicity of Most of Family	Métis (%)[1]	Non-Status Indians (%)
Status Indians only	21.8	57.3
Stat. Ind. & any other categ.	36.3	75.4
Non-Status Ind. only	4.9	19.1
Non-Status Ind. & any other categ.	15.2	37.3
Métis only	45.4	2.3
Métis & any other categ.	64.0	9.0
Other only	5.4	1.7
Other and any other categ. groups	14.5	3.5

[1]Totals add up to more than 100% because categories are not mutually exclusive.

A cross-tabulation of marital status, number of children and gender provides a measure of family structure. Table 5.9 suggests that the differences between Métis and Non-Status Indians are minimal. Breaking these statistics down further, though, shows that while a very large percentage of single women in both groups have children, 54.8 percent of Métis are single parents, compared with 72.3 percent of Non-Status Indian women. The reasons for this difference are not clear.

Table 5.10 shows that respondents in both groups are fairly evenly distributed across all five OMNSIA administrative zones, with the majority of respondents coming from the three Northern zones.

Responses to the survey question about the size of community in which respondents lived are classified as either a small community (under 5000 population) or a large community (5000 and above). In each group, the majority of respondents live in small communities (Table 5.11). Almost all, 93.9 percent of Métis and 90.5 percent of Non-Status Indians, live in mixed Native and non-Native communities.

One other important comparison is how individuals came to be excluded from the *Indian Act*. About half of the Non-Status Indian population responding to questions about how they lost their status had either lost it themselves (41.8%), or through a relative (8.1%). About two thirds of the respondents who lost status themselves, lost it through marriage. In comparison, 4.6 percent of Métis respondents lost status themselves, and 2.2 percent lost it through a relative. Exclusion from Indian status appears to be much more immediate for Non-Status Indian than for Métis respondents.

These suggestions are supported by the evidence in Table 5.12, which describes responses to the question "Most of my family (include aunts, uncles and other relatives) are: . . . ", with possible responses of "Status Indian," "Non-Status Indian," "Métis," and "Other." Most respondents checked more than one choice. Non-Status Indians are much more likely than Métis to have family who are Status Indians, and the distribution of responses suggests that, while Métis are reproduced primarily by Métis individuals marrying other Métis, Non-Status Indians have been largely created through enfranchisement.

In summary, there do appear to be some differences between Métis and Non-Status Indian respondents in the OMNSIA survey in gender, number of children, and number of single mothers. Métis respondents are more likely to be male and have smaller families than the Non-Status Indians. On the other socio-economic and geographic variables measured, differences between the two groups are minor.

There appear, however, to be considerable differences in the origins of these groups. Métis are most likely to come from families of Métis. Non-Status Indians are most likely to have come from families of Status Indians, having become Non-Status Indians either by losing status themselves or through a relative. The following section explores the significance of differences between these two groups.

TABLE 5.13
RELATIONSHIP TO ABORIGINAL ANCENTRY:
MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS
(PERCENTAGES)

Question	Métis			Non-Status Indian		
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
I consider myself a person of Aboriginal ancestry	97.7	2.3	--	97.5	2.5	--
I would legally register myself as an Aboriginal person if given the opportunity	97.3	2.7	--	98.1	1.9	--
I use an Aboriginal language at home	19.5	80.5	--	40.1	59.9	--
Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in my life	71.3	28.7	--	81.9	18.1	--

ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY: MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIAN COMPARISONS

In this section, we compare Métis and Non-Status Indian responses to items from the OMNSIA questionnaire. The similarity of these two groups in socio-economic characteristics, their grouping in administrative definitions for various government programs, and their common exclusion from legal Indian status and from treaties, could lead to considerable similarity in the way Métis and Non-Status Indians define themselves. On the other hand, there are differences in the particular mechanisms through which the Métis and the Non-Status Indians are excluded from Indian status. In the analysis which follows, we ask the question "To what extent and on what issues are these similarities and differences reflected in responses to questionnaire items?"

We begin with questions concerning Aboriginal ancestry (Table 5.13). The first two questions show a similar pattern of responses between the Métis and the Non-Status Indians. Both groups strongly (97-98%) identify as Aboriginal persons, or as persons of Aboriginal ancestry.

The questions which address behaviour-oriented issues present differing response patterns. Approximately twice as many Non-Status Indians stated that they use an Aboriginal language at home as did Métis. While both groups agreed quite strongly with the statement that Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in their lives, positive responses are about 10 percent higher for the Non-Status Indians than for the Métis.

Table 5.14 explores Métis' and Non-Status Indians' responses to questions about Indian status and heritage. Non-Status Indians are much more likely than Métis to wish to be reinstated under the Indian Act or to the band of their ancestry. These differences may reflect the relative possibilities for Métis and Non-Status Indian individuals to regain Indian status. Fifty percent of Non-Status Indians compared with only 7 percent of Métis respondents said that they had lost Indian status themselves or through relatives. However, responses may also reflect a Métis sense of identity separate from Indian heritage.

The latter interpretation is supported by responses to the third and fourth questions in the cluster. The Métis felt much more strongly than Non-Status Indians that they should have a legal status apart from Status Indians under the Indian Act. In addition, the percentage of respondents stating "Not Sure" is lower for the Métis than for the Non-Status Indians.

TABLE 5.14
RELATIONSHIP TO INDIAN ANCESTRY:
MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS
(PERCENTAGES)

Question	Métis			Non-Status Indian		
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
I wish to be reinstated under the Indian Act	60.2	18.3	21.5	91.2	1.9	6.9
I would like to be reinstated to the band of my ancestry	60.7	12.5	26.8	83.9	4.8	11.3
I think I should have legal status as a Métis or Indian apart from Status Indians	76.9	6.5	16.6	56.2	18.6	25.2
	Indian	Inuit	Métis	Indian	Inuit	Métis
If I would legally register as an Aboriginal person, I would register as:	28.1	0.0	71.9	90.6	0.3	9.1

When asked if they would register as a Métis, Inuit or Indian, only about 28 percent of Métis respondents stated they would register as an Indian compared with over 90 percent of Non- Status Indians. In other words, the Non-Status Indians clearly identify with an Indian status from which they have been legally excluded. In contrast, the Métis appear to distinguish themselves from the Indians and identify with a separate culture, only one element of which is Indian ancestry.

Responses to questions about relationship to non-Aboriginal society are presented in Table 5.15. While both groups support the establishment of a Métis land base in Ontario, fewer Non-Status Indians than Métis indicated they would move to such a Métis land base. The general uncertainty about the nature and implications of a Métis land base appears to have resulted in a large percentage of "Not Sure" answers to these questions. Nevertheless, these responses seem to give evidence that the identities of Non-Status Indians and Métis are differentiated in the minds of respondents. A prerequisite for living on a Métis land base would be the ability to define oneself as Métis. Many factors enter into statements about willingness to move. Part of the difference in responses for Métis and Non-Status Indians must lie in the recognition by the latter that they may not be eligible for residence in a Métis territory.

Responses to questions about political and cultural institutions were similar for Métis and Non-Status Indians. Both groups feel that they, as part of the Native peoples of Canada, do not have adequate political representation in the present Canadian system. Only about one fifth of Métis and Non-Status Indians respondents agreed that they had adequate political representation. Both groups agreed that they should have their own representatives in the Canadian government.

Responses to the question whether separate institutions are needed to develop Native cultures presented similar patterns for Métis and Non-Status Indians, with approximately 84 percent of each group indicating that separate institutions are required.

In summary, the comparison between the Métis and the Non-Status Indian responses showed important differences between these two groups. While both groups have a strong Aboriginal identity, and both support separate political representation, a Métis land base, and separate institutions, it is also clear that "Métis" and "Non-Status" are not interchangeable in the minds of respondents. Non-Status Indians are more likely to aspire to Indian legal status, while the Métis aspired to legal status as Métis. Similarly, while Non-Status Indians supported the idea of a Métis land base, they are much less likely than the Métis to consider moving there.

TABLE 5.15
RELATIONSHIP TO NON-ABORIGINAL SOCIETY:
MÉTIS AND NON-STATUS INDIANS
(PERCENTAGES)

Question	Métis			Non-Status Indian		
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
I think the Métis should have a land base in Ontario	75.9	6.7	17.4	69.0	6.7	24.3
I would move to a Métis land base	36.6	24.3	39.1	21.9	36.4	41.7
Native people have adequate representation in the present Canadian political system	18.7	51.6	29.7	20.3	49.5	30.2
Native people should have their own elected representative in the non-Aboriginal government	78.2	4.9	16.9	81.9	2.6	15.5
	Yes		No Resp.	Yes		No Resp.
To develop their culture, Native people need separate institutions (e.g., schools, social services, media, government)	83.5		16.5	84.4		15.6

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this paper, we argued that Métis identity must be seen as a dynamic phenomenon. The decision to identify oneself as Métis rather than as belonging to some other group has a voluntary component. It is also contextual. Historical events, the current political process and everyday practices can play a role in the self-identification process. This characterization of the self-identification process does not tell who the Métis are, or how they define their Métis identity. We explored these questions through an analysis of information about the Ontario Métis, collected in 1985 by the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association.

The question "Who are the Métis?" was addressed, in part, by comparing two populations, both with Indian ancestry, both excluded from the *Indian Act*, but some of whom identify themselves as Métis, and some of whom identify themselves as Non-Status Indians. There were few questions on the questionnaire which facilitated probing into the historic experiences of these populations. Responses about questions on the loss of Indian status, however, suggest that the particular events leading to respondents' exclusion from the *Indian Act* are more recent and immediate for the Non-Status Indians than for the Métis. Very few of the individuals identifying as Métis had themselves lost their Indian status, or could identify a relative through whom status was lost. Non-Status Indians were much more likely to have lost Indian status themselves, primarily through marriage, or to have lost it through a relative.

A comparison of demographic, socio-economic and geographic characteristics showed that these two groups were quite similar. The over-representation of women and single parents in the Non-Status Indian compared with the Métis population is consistent with the exclusion of Indian women marrying men who were not Status Indians from the *Indian Act*. In terms of economic characteristics or location of residence, there are few differences between Métis and Non-Status Indians.

Despite the similarity of socio-economic status of these two populations, and despite the fact that they have been grouped together in many policies and programs, analysis of questionnaire items showed that there are clear differences in the minds of respondents about what it means to be Métis or Non-Status Indian. The particular processes of exclusion from the provisions of the *Indian Act* appear to condition the self-definition and identity of these two populations.

In terms of how a Métis identity is defined, Métis respondents strongly identified with an Aboriginal heritage (although how they defined that heritage was not explained in the questionnaire), and indicated that Aboriginal and spiritual values are important in their everyday lives (although these are also not defined). They show a sense of separateness from both Status Indians and from non-Native society,

preferring an independent Métis status and supporting separate Native political representation and institutions, and a separate Métis land base.

A comparison of attitudes and opinions of Métis with different socio-economic characteristics showed that while age, gender, education, employment and urbanization do not appear to dilute a sense of Aboriginal identity or a desire for separate Métis status, other elements of Métis identity varied for people with different attributes. These results lend support to the definition of "Métisness" as a dynamic phenomenon. People who define themselves as Métis are also in the process of defining and redefining what it means to be Métis.

NOTES

1. Native writers (e.g., Manuel and Posluns, 1974) have argued that they are indigenous peoples, not ethnic groups. Indigenous status emphasizes the fact that these people are not immigrants to Canada, and provides the basis for negotiations over title to land and other Aboriginal rights. However, it is argued here that the experiences of other ethnic groups, especially with respect to the emergence of their sense of identity, can inform the study of the Métis.

2. The construction of the Métis as a "disadvantaged" people has been rejected by their leaders who emphasize their status as Aboriginal or indigenous peoples (Daniels, 1978).

3. Some organizations make the argument that "Indian" in the constitution is a generic category which includes "Status" and all other "Indians." The "Non-Status" distinction is a legislatively created one which is necessarily included within the broader constitutional category.

4. Edward Barnes Borron, an Ontario and later a federal civil servant, wrote a series of reports on the Robinson Treaties and on Treaty Three. Driben's reference is to the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association *Boron Reports Transcript*, p. 148.

5. Population counts from the 1981 census must be viewed cautiously, since the question from which they are derived reads: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent?" While individuals were referred to a Guide item which told Aboriginal people to ignore the phrase "on first coming to this continent," it is questionable that all the potential Métis respondents would have read this instruction. Thus, while the 1981 Census does indicate that there are people who identify themselves as Métis in all the provinces and territories, it does not accurately count how many people would identify themselves as Métis if the question had been worded in a less immigrant-directed manner.

6. There are more questions on the survey than are analyzed in this chapter. Questions were omitted for a variety of reasons. In some cases, because of the wording of the question, responses were very difficult to analyze. An affirmative response to question 19, for example, "I think Native Canadians should be absorbed by the Canadian population with exactly the same rights as everyone else" could mean the respondent favoured assimilation, or it could mean the respondent favoured the same rights (however defined) as the rest of the Canadian population. Other questions either appeared repetitive (e.g., question 20) or did not appear likely to add to an understanding of Métis identity (e.g., question 29). If readers are interested in responses to omitted questions, they should contact the authors at: Geography Department, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6.

7. Questionnaire results were coded by OMNSIA staff. Because of the ways the coding was done, some responses which may be of interest to researchers cannot be accessed.

8. The abrogation of the clauses enfranchising Status Indian women marrying non-Indian men did not completely eliminate sexual discrimination from the Indian Act (The Ontario

Métis and Non- Status Indian Association, 1987, pp. 35, 40-41). Moreover formal registration or re-registration, while it restores Indian status, does not restore band membership. Under Bill C-31, Indian bands were given the power to prepare codes defining criteria for band membership. Four classes of Indians have therefore replaced the Status/Non-Status Indian differentiation: Status Indians with band memberships; Status Indians without band memberships; band members without Indian status; and Non-Status Indians without band membership.

APPENDIX A

THE OMNSIA QUESTIONNAIRE

OFFICIAL

INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

OF

THE ONTARIO METIS & NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION

ON

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

This questionnaire is being circulated so that OMNSIA can get some feedback from the grassroots level on some very vital and important information regarding the Canadian Constitution. It will also provide OMNSIA with an accurate membership list and enumerate Metis and Non Status Indian people in Ontario.

This questionnaire is extremely important to Aboriginal People in regards to their rights and their children's rights and it is vital that you take the time to fill this out accurately. The information you will be providing will be kept confidential in our computer system.

If you have any questions regarding the questionnaire, please do not hesitate to call the Head Office at:

From area codes 807, 819, 514 ..... Dial 1-800-461-0803
416, 519, 613 ..... Dial 1-800-461-5112
705 Dial 1-800-461-5104

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

(Mr. Mrs. Ms.)

Name _____
Family (Please Print) Given

Address _____
Street No. Street Name

_____
City, Town or District Postal Code

Place of Birth _____
City, Town or Reserve

_____ _____
Province Date of Birth

_____
S.I.N.

I am presently: SINGLE _____ MARRIED _____ SEPARATED _____
DIVORCED _____ WIDOW(ER) _____ COMMON LAW _____

I have _____ children

Name of Child	Age	Sex M/F	Last Grade Completed	Living at Home	
_____	___	___	_____	___ YES	___ NO
_____	___	___	_____	___ YES	___ NO
_____	___	___	_____	___ YES	___ NO
_____	___	___	_____	___ YES	___ NO
_____	___	___	_____	___ YES	___ NO
_____	___	___	_____	___ YES	___ NO

My occupation is _____

Presently employed _____ Unemployed _____

Is your work seasonal _____ YES _____ NO

My last grade of formal education is _____

I use an aboriginal language at home _____ YES _____ NO

If yes, what language _____

1. I consider myself a person of Aboriginal ancestry YES _____ NO _____

2. I am _____ (a) A Status Indian
   _____ (b) A Non-Status Indian
   _____ (c) A Metis
   _____ (d) An Inuit
   _____ (e) Other
   _____ (f) Canadian born
   _____ (g) Naturalized Citizen
   _____ (h) Immigrant

3. Most of my family (include aunts, uncles and other relatives) are:
   _____ (a) Status Indians
   _____ (b) Non-Status Indians
   _____ (c) Metis
   _____ (d) Other

4. (A) I live in the following type of community:
   _____ (a) On Reserve
   _____ (b) Metis & Non-Status
   _____ (c) Mixed Community

   (B) _____ (a) Small Community (Up to 5,000)
   _____ (b) Medium Sized City (5,000 to 25,000)
   _____ (c) Large City (25,000 and over)

5. I am married to a person of Native ancestry
   _____ YES _____ NO

6. I have a band number under the Indian Act _____ YES _____ NO
   If yes, your Band Number _____

7. I had a Band Number _____ but lost my Status _____ (year)
   (band no.)

8. I lost my status _____ (a) Voluntarily
   _____ (b) Involuntarily
   _____ (c) Married out
   _____ (d) Double Mother Rule

9. (A) I lost my status when my _____ (a) Father
   _____ (b) Mother
   _____ (c) Grandfather
   _____ (d) Grandmother

   Lost his/her status in _____ (Year) from _____ (Reserve)

9. (B) Neither I nor my family have ever been registered under the Indian Act

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

10. I wish to be reinstated as an Indian under the Indian Act.

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

11. (A) I think I might be denied reinstatement with my ancestral band

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

11. (B) If yes, for what reason(s) _____

_____

12. (A) I would like to be reinstated to the band of my ancestry?

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

12. (B) If no, for what reason(s) _____

_____

12. (C) I would move back to a reserve

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

13. I would need assistance to find out which band my ancestors belonged to

_____ YES _____ NO

14. I think I should have a legal status as a Metis or Indian person apart from Status Indians under the Indian Act

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

15. I think the new Constitution of Canada guarantees my Aboriginal Rights

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

16. (A) I would legally register myself as an Aboriginal person if I were given the opportunity to do so

_____ YES _____ NO

16. (B) (If yes) I would register myself as an

_____ (a) Indian

_____ (b) Inuit

_____ (c) Metis

17. Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in my life

_____ YES _____ NO

18. I would like to see O.M.N.S.I.A. involved in:
(please number in order of importance, #1 being highest)

_____ (a) A Drug and Alcohol Program
_____ (b) An Education Program
_____ (c) A Crime and Justice Program
_____ (d) An Economic Development Program
_____ (e) A Housing Program
_____ (f) Other
_____ (g) None of the Above

19. I think Native Canadians should be absorbed by the Canadian population with exactly the same rights as everyone else _____ YES _____ NO

20. I think all persons of any Native ancestry should have Aboriginal Rights
_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

21. I think a person claiming Native ancestry should provide documented proof
_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

22. I think there are outstanding Aboriginal claims in Ontario
_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

23. I think Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indians should be able to negotiate land claim agreements _____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

24. I think Aboriginal claims should be negotiated with the
_____ (a) Federal Government
_____ (b) Provincial Government
_____ (c) Provincial and Federal Governments

The Native Council of Canada has made verbal presentations and presented position papers on the four major agenda items of the Constitution.

25. I have received information on the following Aboriginal Constitutional issues:

Equality	____ YES	____ NO
Aboriginal Title and Treaty Rights	____ YES	____ NO
Land and Resources	____ YES	____ NO
Aboriginal Self-Government	____ YES	____ NO

26. I think Native People have had a reasonable input into the Constitutional Process so far

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

27. I think equality of the sexes among Aboriginal people is now sufficiently protected in the Constitution

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

28. I think there should be equality among Aboriginal people in terms of Aboriginal Rights

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

29. I think Aboriginal Title can be extinguished by land claim agreements

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

30. I think the descendants of Pre-Confederation Treaties have those Treaty Rights today

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

31. I think Non-Status descendants of Treaty Indians have Treaty Rights today

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

32. (A) I think that all Aboriginal people are entitled to a land base

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

32. (B) I think lands should be made available to present Reserves to accommodate reinstated Indians who wish to return

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

32. (C) I think Indians who do not wish to reinstate should have a separate land base

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

33. (A) I think the Metis should have a land base in Ontario

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

33. (B) I would move to a Metis Land Base

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

34. I think that Native people have adequate representation on the present Canadian political system

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

35. (A) I think Native people should have their own elected representatives in the Non-Aboriginal Government

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

35. (B) If yes, I think this representation should be based on a guaranteed number of seats in the

_____ (a) Senate

_____ (b) House of Commons

_____ (c) Provincial Legislature

36. I think that to develop their culture Native people need separate

_____ (a) Schools

_____ (b) Social Services

_____ (c) Media systems

_____ (d) Government

_____ (e) Other _____

37. (A) I think there should be a term in the Constitution other than Indian to apply to Non-Status Indians

_____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE

37. (B) If yes, what should that term be _____

38. I would like more information on O.M.N.S.I.A.

_____ YES _____ NO

39. I would like more information on the Constitution as it affects Natives

_____ YES _____ NO

We thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire.

Please return in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope as soon as possible.

APPENDIX B

NON-RESPONDENTS BY CLUSTER AND ETHNICITY

TABLE B.1

NON-RESPONDENTS FOR CLUSTER 1:
RELATIONSHIP TO ABORIGINAL IDENTITY

Question	Metis		Non-Status Indian	
	Freq	Perc	Freq	Perc
I consider myself a person of aboriginal ancestry	30	4.2	31	3.9
I would legally register myself as an aboriginal person if I were given the opportunity to do so	58	8.0	64	7.8
I use an aboriginal language at home	20	2.8	14	1.7
Aboriginal and spiritual values play an important part in my life	85	11.8	73	8.9

TABLE B.2

NON-RESPONDENTS FOR CLUSTER 2:
RELATIONSHIP TO INDIAN IDENTITY

Question	Metis		Non-Status Indian	
	Freq	Perc	Freq	Perc
I wish to be reinstated as an Indian under the Indian Act	104	14.4	62	7.6
I would like to be reinstated to the band of my ancestry	144	19.9	68	8.3
I think I should have a legal status as a Metis or Indian apart from Status Indians under the Indian Act	59	8.2	81	9.9
If I would legally register as an aboriginal person, I would register myself as an (Indian, Inuit, Metis)	34	4.7	35	4.3

TABLE B.3

NON-RESPONDENTS FOR CLUSTER 3:
RELATIONSHIP TO LARGER SOCIETY

Question	Metis		Non-Status Indian	
	Freq	Perc	Freq	Perc
I think the Metis should have a land base in Ontario	18	2.5	18	2.2
I would move to a Metis land base	19	2.6	21	2.6
I think that Native people have adequate representation in the present Canadian political system	22	3.0	13	1.8
I think Native people should have their own elected representatives in the non-aboriginal government	20	2.8	16	2.0
To develop their culture Native people need separate institutions (e.g. schools, social services, media, government)	0		0	

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